HIS MAIESTIES DCLARATION TO ALL HIS louing Subiects,

Of the cauſes which moued him to diſſolue the laſt Parliament.

Publiſhed by his Maieſties ſpeciall command.

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¶ By the King.

A Proclamation about the *Dissoluing of the Parliament.*

WHereas Wee, for the generall good of Our Kingdome, caused Our high Court of Parliament to assemble and meete, by Prorogation the twentieth day of Ianuary last past, sithence which time the same hath been continued: And although in this time, by the malevo-

lent diſpoſitions of ſome ill affected perſons of the Houſe of Commons, Wee haue had ſundry iuſt cauſes of offence and diſlike of their proceedings; yet Wee reſolued with patience to trie the vttermoſt, which Wee the rather did, for that Wee found in that Houſe a great number of ſober and graue perſons, well affected to Religion and gouernment, and deſirous to preſerue Vnitie and Peace in all parts of Our Kingdome. And therefore, hauing on the fiue and twentieth day of February laſt, by the vniforme Aduice of Our Priuie Counſell, cauſed both Houſes to bee adiourned vntill this preſent day, hoping in the meane time, that a better and more right vnderſtanding might be begotten betweene Vs and the members of that

Houſe,

House, whereby this Parliament might haue a happy end and issue.

And for the same intent, VVe did againe this day commaund the like Adiournement to be made, vntill the tenth day of this moneth: It hath so happened by the disobedient and seditious carriage of those said ill affected persons of the House of Commons, That VVee, and Our Regall authority and commandement, haue beene so highly contemned, as Our Kingly Office cannot beare, nor any former age can parallel. And therefore it is Our full and absolute resolution to dissolue the same Parliament; whereof VVee thought good, to giue notice vnto all the Lords Spiritual & Temporal, & to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of this present Parliament, and to all others whom

whom it may concerne, that they may depart about their needfull affaires, without attending any longer here. Neuertheleſſe, VVe will that they, and all others ſhould take notice, that VVe doe, and euer will diſtinguiſh betweene thoſe, who haue ſhewed good affection to Religion and Gouernment, and thoſe that haue giuen themſelues ouer to Faction, and to worke diſturbance to the Peace, and good order of Our Kingdome.

Giuen at Our Court a White-hall, this ſecond day of March, in the fourth yeere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

God ſaue the King.

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HIS MAIESTIES SPEECH AT THE DISSOLVING OF THE PARLIAMENT.

My Lords,

I Neuer came here vpon so vnpleasant an occasion; it being the dissolution of a Parliament. Therefore men may haue some cause to wonder, why I should not rather chuse to do this by Commission, it being a generall Maxime of Kings, to leaue harsh commands to their Ministers, themselues only executing pleasing things. Yet considering that Iustice, as well consists in reward and

praiſe of vertue, as puniſhing of vice; I thought it neceſſary to come here to day; to declare to you, and all the world, that it was merely the vndutifull and ſeditious carriage in the lower Houſe, that hath made the diſſolution of this Parliament. And you my Lords are ſo farre from being cauſes of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutifull demeanours, as I am iuſtly diſtaſted with their proceedings; Yet to auoid miſtakings, let Me tell you, that it is ſo far from Me to adiudge al the Houſe alike guilty, that I know that there are many there, as dutifull Subiects, as any in the world; it being but ſome few Vipers amongſt them, that did caſt this miſt of vndutifulneſſe ouer moſt of their eyes; yet to ſay truth, there was a good number there, that could not be infected with this contagion; in ſo much that ſome did expreſſe their duties in ſpeaking; which was

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the generall fault of the Houſe the laſt day. To conclude, as theſe Vipers muſt looke for their reward of puniſhment, ſo you, my Lords, muſt iuſtly expect from me that fauour and protection, that a good King oweth to his louing and dutifull Nobility.

And now, my Lord Keeper, doe what I haue commanded you.

HIS MAIESTIES DECLARATION

to all his louing Subiects, of the *causes which moued him to dis-solue the last Parliament.*

HOwsoeuer Princes are not bound to giue accompt of their actions but to God alone; yet for the satisfaction of the mindes and affections of our louing Subiects, Wee haue thought good to set downe thus much by way of Declaration, that we may appeare to the world, in the truethand sincerity of our owne Actions,

and not in thoſe colours, in which, Wee know ſome turbulent and ill affected Spirits (to maſque and diſguiſe their owne wicked intentions, dangerous to the State) would repreſent Vs to the publike view.

Wee aſſembled our Parliament the ſeuenteenth day of March in the third yeere of Our Raigne, for the ſafety of Religion, for ſecuring Our Kingdomes and Subiects at home, and Our Friends and Allies abroad: And therefore, at the firſt ſitting downe of it, Wee declared the miſerable afflicted eſtate of thoſe of the reformed Religion, in *Germany*, *France*, and other parts of Chriſtendome; the diſtreſſed extremities of our deareſt Vncle the King of *Denmarke*, chaſed out of a great part of his Dominions; The ſtrength of that party, which was vnited againſt Vs; That (beſides the *Pope* and houſe of *Auſtria* and their ancient Confederates) the French King profeſſed the rooting out of the Proteſtant Religion; That of the Princes and States on our party, ſome were ouer-runne, others diuerted, and ſome diſabled to giue aſſiſtance; For which, and other important motiues, Wee propounded a ſpeedy

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supplie of Treasure, answerable to the necessities of the cause.

These things in the beginning were well resented by the house of Commons, and, with much alacrity and readinesse, they agreed to grant a liberall ayde. But before it was brought to any perfection, they were diuerted by a multitude of questions, raised amongst them, concerning their Liberties and Priuiledges, and by other long disputes, that the Bill did not passe in a long time; and by that delay our affaires were put into farre worse case then at the first; our forraigne actions, then in hand, being thereby disgraced and ruined for want of timely helpe.

In this, as We are not willing to derogate from the merit, and good intentions of those wise and moderate men of that house (to whose forwardnesse We attribute it, that it was propounded and resolued so soone,) so We must needes say, that the delay of passing it when it was resolued, occasioned by causeles icalousies, stirred vp by men of another temper, did much lessen both the reputation and reality of that supply: And their spirit infused into many of

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the Commissioners and Assessors in the Countrey, hath returned vp the Subsidies in such a scantie proportion, as is infinitely short, not onely of our great occasions, but of the precedents of former Subsidies, and of the intentions of all well affected men in that House.

In those large disputes, as We permitted many of our high Prerogatiues to be debated, which in the best times of our Predecessors had neuer beene questioned, without punishment, or sharpe reproofe; so We did endeauour to haue shortned those debates, for winning of time, which would haue much aduantaged Our great affaires, both at home and abroade. And therefore, both by Speeches and Messages, We did often declare Our Gracious and cleere resolution, to maintaine, not onely the Parliament, but all Our people, in their ancient and iust liberties, without either violation or diminution; and in the end, for their full satisfaction and security, did by an answere, framed in the forme by themselues desired, to their Parliamentary Petition, confirme their ancient & iust liberties and Rights; which We resolue with all Constancie and Iustice to maintaine.

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This Parliament, howſoeuer, beſides the ſetling Our neceſſary Supply, and their owne Liberties, they waſted much time in ſuch proceedings (blaſting Our gouernment, as We are vnwilling to remember,) yet Wee ſuffered to ſit, vntill themſelues deſired vs to appoint a time for their receſſe, not naming either Adiournement or Prorogation.

Wherevpon, by aduice of Our Counſell, We reſolued to Prorogue, and make a Seſſion: and to that end prefixed a day, by which they might (as was meete in ſo long a ſitting) finiſh ſome profitable and good Lawes; and withall gaue order for a gracious pardon to all our Subiects: which, according to the vſe of former Parliaments, paſſed the higher Houſe; and was ſent downe to the Commons. All which being graciouſly intended by Vs, was ill entertayned by ſome diſaffected perſons of that Houſe; who, by their artifices, in a ſhort time raiſed ſo much heate and diſtemper in the Houſe, for no other viſible cauſe, but becauſe We had declared Our reſolution to prorogue, as Our Counſell aduiſed, and not to adiourne, as ſome of that Houſe (after Our reſolution de-

clared, and not before) did manifeſt themſelues to affect; that ſeldome hath greater paſſion beene ſeene in that houſe vpon the greateſt occaſions. And then ſome glaunces in the Houſe, but open rumors abroad, were ſpread, that by the Anſwere to the Petition We had giuen away, not onely Our Impoſitions vpon goods exported & imported, but the Tonnage and Poundage; whereas, in the debate and hammering of that Petition, there was no ſpeech or mention, in either Houſe, concerning thoſe Impoſitions; but concerning Taxes and other charges within the Land: much leſſe was there any thought thereby to debar Vs of Tonnage and Poundage; which, both before & after the Anſwere to that Petition, the Houſe of Commons, in al their ſpeeches and treaties, did profeſſe they were willing to graunt. And, at the ſame time, many other miſinterpretations were rayſed of that Petition & Anſwere, by men not well diſtinguiſhing betweene well ordered liberty, and licentiouſneſſe; as if, by our Anſwere to that Petition, We had let looſe the Raynes of Our gouernement. And, in this diſtemper, the Houſe of Commons laying aſide the pardon (a thing

thing neuer done in any former Parliament) and other buſineſſes fit to haue bin concluded that Seſſion, ſome of them went about to frame and contriue a Remonſtrance againſt Our receiuing of Tonnage and Poundage; which was ſo farre proceeded in, the night before the prefixed time for concluding the Seſſion, and ſo haſtened by the contriuers thereof, that they meant to haue put it to the vote of the houſe the next morning, before We ſhould prorogue the Seſſion. And therefore, finding Our gracious fauours in that Seſſion, afforded to Our people, ſo ill requited, and ſuch ſiniſter ſtraines made vpon our Anſwere to that Petition, to the diminution of our profit, & (which was more) to the danger of our gouernement; We reſolued to preuent the finiſhing of that Remonſtrance, & other dangerous intentions of ſome ill affected perſons, by ending the Seſſion the next morning, ſome few howres ſooner then was expected; and, by Our owne mouth, to declare to both Houſes the cauſes thereof; &, for hindring the ſpreading of thoſe ſiniſter interpretations of that Petition and Anſwere, to giue ſome neceſſary directions for ſetling and

quieting our gouernement, vntill another meeting, which we performed accordingly the ſixe and twentieth of Iune laſt.

The Seſſion thus ended, and the Parliament riſen, that intended Remonſtrance gaue vs occaſion to looke into that buſineſſe of Tonnage and Poundage. And therefore, though our neceſſities pleaded ſtrongly for Vs, yet Wee were not apt to ſtraine that point too farre, but reſolued to guide Our Selfe by the practiſe of former ages, and examples of Our moſt Noble Predeceſſours; Thinking thoſe counſells beſt warranted, which the wiſedome of former ages, concurring with the preſent occaſions, did appooue: And therefore gaue order for a diligent ſearch of Records; vpon which it was found, that although, in the Parliament holden in the firſt yeere of the Reigne of King *Edward* the Fourth, the Subſidie of Tonnage and Poundage was not granted vnto that King, but was firſt granted vnto him by Parliament in the third yeere of his Reigne; yet the ſame was accounted and anſwered to that King, from the firſt day of his Reigne, all the firſt and ſecond yeeres of his Reigne, and vntill it was granted

granted by Parliament: And that in the ſucceeding times of King *Richard* the Third, King *Henry* the Seuenth, King *Henry* the Eight, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queene *Mary*, and Queene *Elizabeth*, the Subſidie of Tonnage and Poundage was not onely enioyed by euery of thoſe Kings and Queenes, from the death of each of them deceaſing, vntill it was granted by Parliament vnto the Succeſſor; But in all thoſe times, (being for the moſt part peaceable, and not burthened with like charges and neceſſities as theſe moderne times) the Parliament did, moſt readily and cheerefully, in the beginning of euery of thoſe Reignes, grant the ſame, as a thing moſt neceſſary for the guarding of the Seas, ſafetie and defence of the Realme, and ſupportation of the Royall Dignitie. And, in the time of Our Royall Father, of bleſſed memory, he enioyed the ſame a full yeere, wanting very few dayes, before his Parliament began; and aboue a yeere before the Act of Parliament for the grant of it was paſſed: And yet, when the Parliament was aſſembled, it was granted without difficultie. And, in Our owne time, We quietly receiued the ſame three yeeres

and more, expecting with patience, in ſeuerall Parliaments, the like grant thereof, as had been made to ſo many of Our Predeceſſours; the Houſe of Commons ſtill profeſſing, that multitude of other buſineſſe, and not want of willingneſſe on their part, had cauſed the ſetling thereof to be ſo long deferred. And therefore, finding ſo much reaſon and neceſſitie for the receiuing of the ordinarie duties in the Cuſtome-houſe, to concurre with the practice of ſuch a Succeſſion of Kings and Queenes, famous for Wiſdome, Iuſtice, and Gouernment, and nothing to the contrary, but that intended Remonſtrance, hatched out of the paſsionate braines of a few particular perſons; Wee thought it ſo farre from the wiſedome and dutie of a Houſe of Parliament, as Wee could not thinke, that any moderate and diſcreet man (vpon compoſed thoughts, ſetting aſide paſsion and diſtemper) could bee againſt receiuing of Tonnage and Poundage; eſpecially ſince Wee doe, and ſtill muſt purſue thoſe ends, and vndergoe that Charge, for which it was firſt granted to the Crowne; it hauing beene ſo long and conſtantly continued to Our Predeceſſors

deceſſours, as that in foure ſeuerall Acts of Parliament, for the granting thereof, to King *Edward* the Sixth, Queene *Mary*, Queene *Elizabeth*, and Our bleſſed Father, it is in expreſſe termes mentioned, to haue beene had and enioyed by the ſeuerall Kings, named in thoſe Actes, time out of mind, by authoritie of Parliament. And therefore, vpon theſe reaſons, Wee held it agreeable to Our Kingly Honour, and neceſſary for the ſafetie and good of Our Kingdome, to continue the receipt thereof, as ſo many of Our Predeceſſours had done. Wherefore, when a few Merchants (being at firſt but one or two) fomented, as it is well knowne, by thoſe euill Spirits that would haue hatched that vndutifull Remonſtrance, began to oppoſe the paiment of Our accuſtomed duties in the Cuſtome-houſe, We gaue order to the Officers of Our Cuſtomes to goe on, notwithſtanding that oppoſition, in the receiuing of the vſuall duties; and cauſed thoſe that refuſed, to be warned to attend at the Counſell board; that, by the wiſedome and authority of Our Counſell, they might be reduced to obedience and duety; where ſome of them, without

out reuerence or reſpect to the honour and dignity of that preſence, behaued themſelues with ſuch boldneſſe and inſolency of ſpeech, as was not to bee endured by a farre meaner Aſſembly; much leſſe to be countenanced by a houſe of Parliament, againſt the body of Our Priuie Counſell.

And as in this We did what in honour and reaſon was fit for the preſent; ſo Our thoughts were dayly intentiue vpon the reaſſembling of Our Parliament, with full intention on Our part, to take away all ill vnderſtanding betweene Vs and our people; whoſe loues, as Wee deſired, to continue and preſerue; ſo Wee vſed Our beſt endeauours, to prepare and facilitate the way to it. And to this end, hauing taken a ſtrict and exact ſuruey of our gouernement, both in the Church and Common-wealth, and what things were moſt fit and neceſſary to be reformed, We found in the firſt place, that much exception had beene taken at a booke, intituled, *Appello Cæſarem*, or An Appeale to *Cæſar*, and publiſhed in the yeere 1625. by *Richard Mountague*, then Batchelor of Diuinitie, and now Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; and becauſe it did

did open the way to those schismes and diui-
sions, which haue since ensued in the Church. We did, for remedie and redresse thereof, and for satisfaction of the consciences of our good people, not only, by our publike Proclamation, call in that Booke, which ministred matter of offence, but, to preuent the like danger for hereafter, reprinted the Articles of Religion, established in the time of Queene *Elizabeth* of Famous memorie; and, by a Declaration before those Articles, Wee did tie and restraine all opinions to the sense of those Articles, that nothing might be left for priuate fancies & innouation. For Wee call God to record, before whom Wee stand, that it is, and alwayes hath been, our hearts desire to be found worthy of that title, which Wee accompt the most glorious in all our Crowne, *Defender of the Faith*: neither shall Wee euer giue way to the authorizing of any thing, whereby any innouation may steale, or creepe into the Church, but preserue that vnity of Doctrine and discipline, established in the time of Queene *Elizabeth*, whereby the Church of *England* hath stood and flourished euer since.

And, as We were carefull to make vp all breaches and rents in Religion at home; ſo did Wee, by Our Proclamation and Commandement for the execution of Lawes againſt Prieſts and Popiſh Recuſants, fortifie all wayes and approches againſt that forraigne Enemie: which if it haue not ſucceeded according to Our intention, We muſt lay the fault where it is, in the Subordinate Officers and Miniſters in the Countrey, by whoſe remiſſeneſſe Ieſuits and Prieſts eſcape without apprehenſion; and Recuſants, from thoſe conuictions and penalties, which the Lawes and Our Commandement would haue inflicted on them. For We doe profeſſe, that, as it is Our dutie, ſo it ſhall be our care, to Command and direct well; but it is the part of others, to performe the Miniſteriall Office. And when We haue done Our Office, Wee ſhall accompt Our Self, and all charitable men will accompt vs, innocent both to God and Men: And thoſe that are negligent, We will eſteeme as culpable both to God and Vs; and therefore will expect, that hereafter they giue Vs a better accompt.

And as Wee haue beene carefull for the ſea-

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ling of Religion and quieting the Church, ſo were Wee not vnmindfull of the preſeruation of the iuſt and ancient Liberties of Our Subiects, which Wee ſecured to them, by Our gracious Anſwere to the Petition in Parliament, hauing not ſince that time done any Act whereby to infringe them; but Our care is, and hereafter ſhall be, to keepe them entire and inuiolable, as Wee would doe Our owne Right and Soueraignetie, hauing, for that purpoſe, enrolled the Petition and Anſwere, in Our Courts of Iuſtice.

Next to the care of Religion, and of Our Subiects rights, We did Our beſt for the prouident and well ordering of that aide and ſupply, which was granted Vs the laſt Seſsion; whereof no part hath beene waſtfully ſpent, nor put to any other vſe, then thoſe for which it was deſired and granted; as vpon payment of Our Fleet and Armie; wherein Our care hath beene ſuch as Wee choſe rather to diſcontent Our deareſt Friends and Allies, and Our neereſt Seruants, then to leaue Our Souldiers and Mariners vnſatisfied; whereby any vexation or diſquiet might ariſe to Our people. We haue alſo,

with part of those Moneyes, begun to supply Our Magazines and stores of Munition, and to put Our Navie into a constant forme and order. Our Fleet likewise is fitting, and almost in a readinesse, whereby the Narrow Seas may be guarded, commerce maintained, and Our Kingdom secured from all forreigne attempts. These Actes of Ours might haue made this impression in all good mindes, that Wee were carefull to direct Our counsells, and dispose Our actions, as might most conduce to the maintenance of Religion, honour of Our Gouernment, and safetie of Our People. But with mischieuous men, once ill affected, *Sua bene, sua male facta premunt*: and whatsoeuer once seemed amisse, is euer remembred, but good endeauours are neuer regarded.

Now all these things, that were the chiefe complaints the last Session, being by Our Princely care so seriously reformed, the Parliament re-assembled the twentieth of January last: Wee expecting, according to the candor and sincerity of Our owne thoughts, that men would haue framed themselues for the effecting a right Vnderstanding betweene Vs and

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Our people. But some few malevolent persons, like Empyricks and lewd Artists, did strive to make new worke, and to haue some disease on foot to keepe themselues in request, and to bee imployed and entertained in the cure. And yet, to manifest how much offences haue beene diminished, The Committees for grieuances, Committees for Courts of Iustice, and Committees for Trade haue, since the sitting down of the Parliament, receiued few complaints; and those such, as they themselues haue not thought to bee of that moment or importance, with which Our eares should be acquainted.

No sooner therefore was the Parliament set downe, but these ill affected men began to sowe and disperse their icalousies, by casting out some glances and doubtfull speeches, as if the Subiect had not beene so clearely and well dealt with touching their liberties, and touching the Petition answered the last Parliament. This being a plausible theame, thought on for an ill purpose, easily tooke hold on the mindes of many, that knew not the practice: And thereupon, the second day of the Parliament, a Committee was appointed to search, whether

the Petition and Our Answere thereunto were enrolled in the Parliament Rolle, and in the Courts at *Westminster*; and in what manner the same was done. And a day was then also appointed, on which, the house being resolued into a Committee, should take into consideration those things wherein the liberty of the Subiect had beene inuaded, against that Petition. This, though it produced no other effect of moment or importance; yet was sufficient to raise a iealousie against our proceedings, in such as were not well acquainted with the sincerity and clearenesse of them. There followed another of no lesse skill; for although our proceeding before the Parliament, about matters of Religion, might haue satisfied any moderate men of our zealous care thereof (as we are sure it did the most) yet, as bad stomackes turne the best things into their owne nature, for want of good digestion; so those distempered persons haue done the like of our good intents, by a bad and sinister interpretation. For, when they did obserue, that many honest and religious minds in that House, did complaine of those dangers that did threaten the

Church; they likewiſe tooke the ſame word in their mouth, and their cry likewiſe was *Templum Domini*, *Templum Domini*; when the true care of the Church neuer came into their hearts; and what the one did out of zeale vnto Religion, the other tooke vp as a plauſible theame to depraue our gouernement; as if We, Our Clergie, and Counſell, were either ſenſeleſſe, or careleſſe of Religion. And this wicked practice hath beene to make vs ſeeme to walke before our people, as if We hated before God.

Hauing, by theſe Artifices, made a ialous impreſſion in the hearts of many, & a day being appointed to treate of the Grant of Tonnage and Poundage; at the time prefixed, all expreſſe great willingneſſe to grant it: but a new ſtraine is found out, that it could not be done, without great perill to the Right of the Subiect; vnleſſe We ſhould diſclaime any right therein, but by Grant in Parliament; and ſhould cauſe all thoſe goods to be reſtored, which, vpon commandement from Vs or Our Counſell, were ſtayed by Our Officers, vntil thoſe duties were payed; and conſequently ſhould put Our ſelfe out of poſſeſ-

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sion of the Tonnage & Poundage, before they were granted; for else, it was pretended the Subiect stood not in fit case to graunt it. A fancie and cauill rayſed of purpoſe, to trouble the buſineſſe; it being euident, that all the Kings before named did receiue that duty, and were in actuall poſſeſſion of it, before, and at the very time, when it was graunted to them by Parliament. And although We, to remooue all difficulties, did from Our owne mouth, in thoſe cleere and open termes that might haue ſatisfied any moderate and well diſpoſed mindes, declare, that it was Our meaning, by the gift of Our people to enioy it, and that We did not challenge it of right, but tooke it *de bene eſſe*, ſhewing thereby, not the right, but the neceſſity by which Wee were to take it, wherein Wee deſcended, for their ſatisfaction, ſo far beneath Our ſelfe, as We are confident neuer any of Our Predeceſſors did the like; nor was the like euer required or expected from them; Yet, for al this, the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was layd aſide, vpon pretenſe, they muſt firſt cleere the right of the Subiect therein; vnder colour whereof they entertayne the complaints, not onely

onely of *John Rolles*, a member of their Houſe, but alſo of *Richard Chambers*, *Iohn Fowkes*, and *Bartholomew Gilman*, againſt the Officers of Our Cuſtomes, for detaining their goods, vpon refuſall to pay the ordinary ducty, accuſtomed to bee payed for the ſame. And, vpon theſe complaints, they ſend for the Officers of the Cuſtomes, enforcing them to attend, day after day, by the ſpace of a moneth together; they cauſe them to produce their Letters Patents vnder Our great Seale, and the Warrants made by Our Priuy Counſell for leuying of thoſe dueties; they examine the Officers vpon what queſtions they pleaſe, thereby to entrap them for doing our ſeruice and Commaundement. In theſe and other their proceedings, becauſe We would not giue the leaſt ſhew of interruption, Wee endured long with much patience, both theſe and ſundry other ſtrange and exorbitant incroachments and vſurpations, ſuch as were neuer before attempted in that Houſe.

We are not ignorant, how much that Houſe hath of late yeeres endeauoured to extend their Priuiledges, by ſetting vp generall Committees for Religion, for Courts of Iuſtice, for

Trade, and the like: a course neuer heard of vntill of late; so as, where in former times the Knights, and Burgesses were wont to communicate to the House such businesse as they brought from their Countries, now there are so many Chaires erected to make enquirie vpon all sorts of men, where complaints of all sorts are entertained, to the vnsufferable disturbance and scandall of Iustice and Gouernement; which hauing beene tolerated a while, by Our Father, and Our Selfe, hath dayly growne to more and more height; insomuch as young Lawyers sitting there, take on them to decry the opinions of the Iudges; and some haue not doubted to maintaine, that the resolutions of that House must binde the Iudges; a thing neuer heard of in ages past. But in this last assembly of Parliament they haue taken on them much more then euer before.

They sent Messengers to examine Our Attorney Generall, who is an Officer of trust and secrecy, touching the execution of some Commandements of Ours, of which, without Our leaue first obtained, hee was not to giue account to any but to Our Selfe. They sent a cap-

captious and directorie meſſage to the Lord Treaſurer, Chancellour, and Barons of the Exchequer, touching ſome iudiciall proceedings of theirs in Our Court of Exchequer.

They ſent Meſſengers to examine, vpon ſundry queſtions, Our two chiefe Iuſtices, and three other of Our Iudges, touching their iudiciall proceedings at the Goale Deliuery at *New-gate*; of which they are not acomptable to the Houſe of Commons.

And whereas Suits were commenced in Our Court of *Star-Chamber*, againſt *Richard Chambers*, *Iohn Fowkes*, *Bartholomew Gilman*, and *Richard Philips*, by Our Attorney Generall, for great miſdemeanours, they reſolued that they were to haue priuiledge of Parliament, againſt Vs, for their perſons, for no other cauſe, but becauſe they had Petitions depending in that Houſe; and (which is more ſtrange) they reſolued that a Signification ſhould bee made from that Houſe, by a Letter to iſſue vnder the hand of their Speaker, vnto the Lord Keeper of Our Great Seale, that no Attachments ſhould bee granted out againſt the ſaide *Chambers*, *Fowkes*, *Gilman*, or *Philips*, during their ſaide

priuiledge of Parliament; Whereas, it is farre aboue the power of that Houſe, to giue direction to any of Our Courts at *Weſtminſter*, to ſtop Attachments againſt any man, though neuer ſo ſtrongly priuiledged; the breach of priuiledge being not in the Court that grants, but in the partie or Miniſter that puts in execution ſuch Attachments. And therefore, if any ſuch Letter had come to the Lord Keeper, as it did not, hee ſhould haue highly offended Vs, if hee had obeyed it. Nay, they went ſo farre, as they ſpared not the Honour of Our Counſel board, but examined their proceedings in the caſe of our Cuſtomers, interrogating what this or that man of Our Counſell ſaid, in direction of them in the buſineſſe committed to their charge. And when one of the members of that Houſe, ſpeaking of Our Counſellers, ſaid, Wee had wicked Counſaile, and another ſaid, That the Counſaile and Iudges ſought to trample vnder feet the liberties of the Subiect, and a third traduced Our high Court of *Star-Chamber*, for the Sentence giuen againſt *Sauage*: they paſſed without check or cenſure by the Houſe. By which may appeare, how farre the members of that Houſe

haue

haue of late ſwollen beyond the rules of moderation, and the modeſty of former times; And this, vnder pretence of priuiledge and freedome of ſpeech, whereby they take libertie to declare againſt all authoritie of Counſaile and Courts at their pleaſure.

They ſent for Our Sheriffe of *London*, to examine him in a cauſe whereof they had no iuriſdiction; their true and ancient iuriſdiction extending only to their owne members, and to the conſeruation of their priuiledges, and not to the cenſure of forreine perſons and cauſes, which haue no relation to their priuiledges; the ſame being but a late innouation. And yet, vpon an enforced ſtraine of a contempt, for not anſwering to their ſatisfaction, they committed him to the Towre of *London*, vſing that outward pretext for a cauſe of their committing him; the true and inward cauſe being, for that hee had ſhewed himſelfe dutifull to Vs and Our Commandements, in the matter concerning Our Cuſtomes.

In theſe Innouations (which Wee will neuer permit againe) they pretended, indeede, Our ſeruice; but their drift was to breake, by

this meanes, through all respects and ligaments of Gouernment, and to erect an vniuersall ouerswaying power to themselues, which belongs onely to Vs, and not to them.

Lastly, in their proceedings against Our Customers, they went about to censure them as delinquents, and to punish them for staying some goods of some factious Merchants, in Our Store-house, for not paying those duties which themselues had formerly payed, and which the Customers, without interruption, had receiued of all other Merchants many yeeres before, and to which they were authorized both by our great Seale, and by seuerall directions and commandements from vs and our Priuy Counsell.

To giue some colour to their proceedings herein, they went about to create a new priuiledge, which we wil neuer admit; that a Parliament man hath priuiledge for his goods against the King; the consequence whereof would be, that he may not bee constrained to pay any duties to the King, during the time of priuiledge of Parliament.

It is true they would haue made this case

to haue beene betweene the Merchant and our Farmors of Our Cuſtome; and haue ſeuered them from our intereſt and commandement, thereby the rather to make them liable to the cenſure and puniſhment of that Houſe. But on the other ſide We, holding it both vniuſt and diſhonorable, to withdraw Our ſelfe from Our Officers, in any thing they did by Our commandement, or to diſauow any thing that We had enioyned to bee done; vpon Munday, the three and twentieth day of February, ſent a meſſage vnto them by Secretarie Coke, thanking them for the reſpect they had ſhewed in ſeuering the intereſt of Our Farmors from Our owne intereſt and commandement: Neuertheleſſe Wee were bound in Honour to acknowledge a trueth, that what was done by them, was done by Our expreſſe direction and commandement, and if, for doing thereof Our Farmors ſhould ſuffer, it would highly concerne Vs in Honour. Which meſſage was no ſooner deliuered vnto them, but, in a tumultuous and diſcontented manner, they called, *Adiourne, Adiourne*, and thereupon, without any cauſe giuen on Our part,

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in a very vnuſuall manner, Adiourned themſelues vntill the Wedneſday following; on which day, by the vniforme aduice of Our Priuie Counſaile, We cauſed both Houſes to be adiourned vntill the ſecond Day of March; hoping, that in the meane time a better and more right vnderſtanding might bee begotten betweene Vs & the members of that Houſe, wherby the Parliamẽt might come to a happy iſſue.

But vnderſtanding by good aduertiſement, that their diſcontent did not in that time digeſt and paſſe away, We reſolued to make a ſecond adiournement vntil the tenth of March; which was done, aſwell to take time to Our ſelfe to thinke of ſome meanes to accomodate thoſe difficulties, as to giue them time to aduiſe better; and accordingly Wee gaue commandement for a ſecond Adiournement in both Houſes, and for ceſſation of all buſines till the day appointed; which was very dutifully obeied in the higher Houſe, no man contradicting or queſtioning it. But when the ſame commandement was deliuered in the Houſe of Commons by their Speaker, it was ſtraightwayes contradicted; & although the Speaker declared vnto them

them, it was an absolute Right and power in vs, to adiourne, as well as to Prorogue or dissolue, and declared and read vnto them diuers presidents of that House to warrant the same, yet Our commandement was most contemptuously disobeyed, and some rising vp to speake, saying they had businesse to doe before the House should be adiourned, the Speaker againe declared Our expresse and peremptorie command to adiourne, and that himselfe should presently leaue the House, and come vnto vs; which he offered to doe, but was withstood by two that had of purpose placed themselues, one on either side of the Speakers Chayre, and by force held him in for a time: yet the Speaker, finding meanes to get out of the Chayre, and purposing to come to vs, as We had Commanded, those two, and diuers others caught hold of him, and by strong hand brought him backe, and set him in the Chaire against his will; and then a member of that House cast out a most seditious paper, framed by himselfe and his Adherents, without any warrant from the House, and containing a proscription of such as in dutie and obedience

to Vs, ſhould aduiſe or aſſiſt Vs in the receipt of Tonnage and Poundage, or ſhould pay that dutie, as Enemies to the State; and required it to bee read: a moſt audacious inſolencie for any, to preſume to doe that of their owne heads, which, if the whole Houſe had done in that manner, had beene aboue their power, and had deſerued the higheſt cenſure: but the Speaker refuſing to reade it, the Author of it tooke on him moſt ſeditiouſly and factiouſly, to declare the contents of it, and he, and other his Adherents required it ſhould bee put to the queſtion; which being miſliked by many Graue and Wiſe men in the Houſe, and refuſed by the Speaker (as We doubt not, but all good men will beleeue hee had cauſe, and euen abhorre the memorie of that inſolent and ſeditious Act) yet many bitter taunts, and inuectiues were vttered againſt the Speaker by thoſe factious perſons, and the doores being faſt locked, ſuch as were well affected to Our ſeruice, were, againſt their wils, kept in the Houſe all the time of this tumult and diſorder; and when ſome aduertiſement came to Vs, that the Houſe was in great diſtemper, Wee firſt ſent for the

Sergeant

Sergeant of the Houſe, whom they, after they knew Our pleaſure therein, preſumptuouſly detayned. And after Wee ſent a meſſage vnto them by the Gentleman-vſher of the higher Houſe, but hee comming to the doore, and declaring that hee had a meſſage from Vs, was refuſed to be admitted; and, being kept at the doore a long time, at laſt the Houſe adiourned themſelues without receiuing Our meſſage; a proceeding ſo irregular, as no Parliament can parallel; when our abſolute Commands, warranted by Law, and precedents of former times, were diſobeyed, the Speaker violated, Our Meſſenger and meſſage excluded, which ought to haue beene admitted, if they were a Houſe; and if they were not a Houſe, they ought not at all to haue diſputed, much leſſe to blaſt the honor of our Seruants, to proſcribe Our beſt Subiects, and glue Law to Soueraignety, ſtriking at the very eſſence of Monarchy. By all which it appeares, that there wanted not men in that Houſe, that would get themſelues a name, by ſetting *Dianas* Temple on fire, and make themſelues popular, by putting all the Kingdome in combuſti-

on. For what other end could there bee in that malicious ſpeech, whereby a wicked *Shimei* at that time would make Vs odious in the eyes of all our people, as if it were meant to transfer all Trade, and giue the fatnes of the Land to ſtrangers? A conceipt (Wee call God to witneſſe) which neuer entred into our Soule, and, We thinke, neuer harboured in any heart, but that ſeditious heart which firſt broached it. For, God forbid, We ſhould loue any ends ſo well, as by any neceſſity to be driuen to forget that indiſſoluble bond betweene Vs and Our people. Wee could and would haue expected longer, had Wee conceiued any hope of returning to their duety. Whileſt the *Duke* of *Buckingham* liued, He was intituled to all the diſtempers and ill euents of former Parliaments; and therefore much endeauour was vſed to demoliſh him, as the onely wall of ſeparation betweene Vs and Our people. But now hee is dead, no alteration was found amongſt thoſe enuenomed ſpirits, which troubled then the bleſſed harmony betweene Vs and our Subiects, and continue ſtill to trouble it. For now, vnder the pretence of publike care

of

of the Commom wealth, they ſuggeſt new and cauſeleſſe feares, which, in their owne hearts, they know to be falſe; and deuiſe new engins of miſchiefe, ſo to caſt a blindneſſe vpon the good affections of Our people, that they may not ſee the truth and largeneſſe of Our heart towards them: ſo that, now it is manifeſt the *Duke* was not alone the mark that thoſe men ſhot at, but was only, as a neere miniſter of Ours, taken vp on the by, and in their paſſage to their more ſecret deſignes; which onely were to caſt Our affaires into a deſperate condition, to abate the powers of Our Crowne, and to bring Our gouernement into obloquie; that, in the end, all things may bee ouerwhelmed with anarchie and confuſion. We doe not impute theſe diſaſters to the whole Houſe of Commons, knowing that there were amongſt them many religious, graue, and well-minded men; but, the ſincerer and better part of the Houſe beeing ouer-borne by the practices and clamours of the other, who, careleſſe of their duties, and taking aduantage of the times and Our neceſsities, haue forced Vs to breake off this meeting, which had it beene anſwered with like ductie

on their parts, as it was inuited and begun with loue on Ours, might haue prooued happie and glorious, both to Vs and this whole Nation.

We haue thus declared the manifold cauſes We had to diſſolue this Parliament; wherby all the world may ſee how much they haue forgotten their former ingagements, at the entry into the warre, themſelues being perſwaders to it, promiſing to make vs feared by our enemies, and eſteemed by our friends; & how they turned the neceſſities growen by that warre, to enforce Vs to yeeld cõditions incompetible with Monarchie. And now, that Our people may diſcerne, that theſe prouocations of euill men (whoſe puniſhment We reſerue to a due time) haue not changed Our good intentions to Our Subiects: We doe here profeſſe to maintaine the true Religion and doctrine eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, without admitting or conniuing at any backſliding, either to Popery or Schiſme. Wee doe alſo declare, that Wee will maintaine the ancient and iuſt Rights, and liberties of Our Subiects, with ſo much conſtancie and iuſtice, that they ſhall haue cauſe

to acknowledge, that vnder Our gouernment and gracious protection, they liue in a more happy and free estate, then any Subiects in the Christian world. Yet let no man hereby take the boldnes to abuse that liberty, turning it to licentiousnes, nor misinterpret the Petition, by peruerting it to a lawlesse libertie, wantonly or frowardly, vnder that or any other colour, to resist lawfull and necessary authoritie. For, as Wee will maintaine Our Subiects in their iust liberties, so Wee doe and will expect that they yeeld as much submission and duetie to Our Royall Prerogatiues, and as ready obedience to Our authoritie and commandements, as hath been performed to the greatest of our Predecessors.

And, for Our Ministers, Wee will not that they bee terrified by those harsh proceedings, that haue beene strained against some of them. For, as Wee will not Command any thing vniust, or dishonourable, but shall vse Our Authoritie and Prerogatiues for the good of Our people; so Wee will expect that Our Ministers obey Vs, and they shall assure themselues Wee will protect them.

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As for Our Merchants, We let them know, We ſhall alwayes endeauour to cheriſh and enlarge the trade of ſuch as bee dutifull, without burthening them beyond that which is fitting; but the dutie of fiue in the hundred for the guarding of the Seas, and defenſe of the Realme (to which Wee hold Our ſelues ſtill obliged, and which duetie hath continued without interruption ſo many ſucceſſions of ages,) Wee hold, no dutifull or good Subiect will deny it, being ſo neceſſary, for the good of the whole Kingdom. And if any factious Marchant will affront Vs in a thing ſo reaſonable, and wherein Wee require no more, nor in no other manner then ſo many of Our Predeceſſours haue done, and haue beene dutifully obeyed: let them not deceiue themſelues, but be aſſured, that We ſhall finde Honourable and iuſt meanes to ſupport Our Eſtate, vindicate Our Soueraigntie, and preſerue that Authoritie, which God hath put into Our hands.

And now, hauing laid downe the trueth and cleereneſſe of Our proceedings, all wiſe and diſcreet men may eaſily iudge of thoſe rumours and iealous feares, that are maliciouſly and wic-

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kedly bruited abroad; and may diſcerne by examination of their owne hearts, whether, in reſpect of the free paſſage of the Goſpell, indifferent and equall adminiſtration of Iuſtice, freedome from oppreſſion, and the great peace and quietneſſe which euery man enioyeth vnder his owne vine and figtree, the happineſſe of this Nation can be paralleled by any other of Our neighbour Countreyes; and if not, then to acknowledge their owne bleſſednesſe, and for the ſame bee thankefull to God, the Author of all goodneſſe.

FINIS.

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Excellent Maieſtie.
Anno Domini.
1628.

Aprill 4.

The proceeding of the Parliament, being this day related to the King, by the Councellors of the Commons Houſe of Parliament.

HIS Maieſtie vpon the report made, expreſſed great contentment that it gaue him; not valewing the Money giuen, comparable to the hearts ſhewed in the way of the Guift: For although his great occaſions of State did require more Money then at this time was giuen; yet now he made account he could not lacke ſince he had their loues; and that this day, he thought that he had gayned more Reputation in Chriſtendome, *then if he had wonne many Battailes; Saying further, (according to his Speech the firſt day of the Parliament,) That they might eaſily make him in loue*

with Parliaments, (now he professed he was so:) And that we should finde the fruits of it by calling vs often together, and to secure further feares, and create future confidence, he assured vs that we should enioy as great imunitie and freedom in his time, as euer we possessed or had vnder the Reigne of any the best Kings of this Realme.

The Duke of BVCKINGHAM *his Speach to his* Maieſtie *on Friday being the 4th. of Aprill, 1628.*

SIR,

MEE thinkes I now behold you a great *King*; For loue is greater then Maieſtie. *Opinion* that your People loued you not had almoſt loſt you in the opinion of the *World*: but this day makes you appeare as you are, *A glorious King loued at home, and now to bee feared abroad.* This falling out ſo happily, I beſeech you giue mee leaue to bee an humble Suitor vnto your *Maieſtie*. Firſt, for my ſelfe, that I who haue had the honour to be your *Fauourite*, may now giue

vp my title vnto them, they to bee your *Fauourite*, and I to bee your Seruant. My ſecond ſute is, that they hauing all done ſo well, you will account of them all as one, a Body of many members, but all of one Heart. *Opinion* might haue made them differ, but *Affection* did moue them all to ioyne with like loue in this great *Guift:* for proportion it being leſſe then your occaſions may aske, yet it is more then euer Subiects did giue in ſo ſhort a time: Nor am I perſwaded it will reſt there, for this is but as an earneſt of their affections, to let you ſee, and the world know what *Subiects* you haue, that when your *Honour* and the good of the *State* is engaged, and *Ayde* asked in the ordinary way of Parliament, you can-

not want. This is not a gift of fiue Subſidies alone, but the opening of a Mine of Subſidies which lyeth in their hearts. This good beginning hath wrought already theſe effects, they haue taken your heart, drawne from you a declaration that you will loue Parliaments. And againe, this will be mett, I make no queſtion, with ſuch reſpect, that their demands will be iuſt, ductifull and moderate: For they that know thus to giue, knowe what is fit to aske: then cannot your Maieſtie do leſſe then outgoe their demands or elſe you doe leſſe then your ſelfe, or them: For your Meſſage begat truſt, their truſt and your promiſe muſt then beget performance. This being done, then ſhall I with a glad heart hold this worke as well ended

as now begun, and then ſhall I hope that Parliaments ſhalbe made hereafter ſo frequent, by the effects and good vſe of them, as ſhall haue this further benefit, to deterre from approaching your eares thoſe *Proiectors* & *Inducers* of Innouation, as diſturbers both of *Church* & *Cõmonwealth*. Now *Sir*, to open my heart and to eaſe my griefe, pleaſe you to pardon me a word more. I muſt confeſſe I haue long liued in paine, *Sleepe* hath giuen mee no reſt, *Fauours* & *Fortunes* no content, much haue bene my ſecret ſorrowes to be thought the man of *Seperation*, and that diuided the *King* from his people, and them from him; but I hope it ſhall appeare, they were ſome miſtaken mindes, that would haue made me the euill Spirit that walked

ked betweene a good *Maſter* and a loyall People for ill offices. VVhereas by your *Maieſties* fauour, I ſhall euer endeauour to approue my ſelfe a good Spirit breathing nothing but the beſt of ſeruices vnto them all. Therefore this day I account more bleſſed vnto me then my birth, to ſee my ſelfe able to ſerue them, to ſee you brought in loue with Parliaments, to ſee a Parliament expreſſe ſuch loue to you. Loue them I beſeech you, and God ſo loue me and mine, as I ioy to ſee this day.